

812 Histoire sociale / Social History

scholarship across a range of disciplinary fields to produce equally compelling analyses and considerations.

Matthew S. Wiseman
Wilfrid Laurier University

GOULD, Andrew C. and Anthony M. Messina (eds.) – *Europe's Contending Identities: Supranationalism, Ethnoregionalism, Religion, and the New Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. 285

The volume is concerned with the vexed question of how 'European' is Europe and whether or not a European identity is likely to consolidate in Europe. The assumptions informing the volume are that, on the one side, a degree of collective identity is necessary for any kind of political community and, on the other side, some evidence can be found for such an identity on a European level. The key question is how extensive is it. It is evident that a strong case for a supranational identity cannot be sustained, but it is equally true that Europe is some sort of reality. The editors, in their theoretical introduction, are in accord with the general perspective that is now much agreed on in other studies that European identity is not simply one thing but multiple. However, they correctly object to the tendency to over-pluralise identity to a point that it ceases to have any real content. They thus argue that a political identity, such as European identity, must have some degree of group boundness and with this comes a certain sense of group specificity that inevitably entails a distinction between an 'us' and a 'them.' On this uncontroversial basis the editors make a case for the necessity of European identity, if it is to exist at all, as a relative coherent political identity that is constantly challenged by counter-vailing tendencies that invoke national identities.

The studies collected in the volume are addressed to what the editors see as three key challenges that severely test the viability of a European political community developing a coherent post-national identity. The ten chapters, in addition to a lengthy Introduction and Conclusion, offer very detailed analyses of ethno-regionalism, the new nationalism and ethnic religiosity as potentially challenging the viability of a European identity. The studies, which are informed by very orthodox political science analysis, offer sound empirically based evidence that challenges strong claims on European identity, but overall are on balance cautious of drawing conclusions that suggest a dominant trend. Their view is that a European polity does not as such exist and that while there is some evidence of a European political identity taking shape it is not being consciously or very enthusiastically embraced by Europeans.

The volume is organized into four parts. The first part contains two general theoretically driven accounts of European identity. The first of these by Citrin and Wright sees national identity tempering European identity and the second

by Messina sees such identities as highly variable and is very much shaped by political strategy and thus lacking real substance. A key point is made in Messina's chapter that it is not supra diversity as such that threatens European identity and political community but its political framing and manipulation by anti-European political actors. A decisive factor too is the positioning of the mainstream parties. The second section deals with ethnoregional challenges. Here there is a clear trend towards support for European integration by regional parties but with Euroskeptical cases at the extremes. This is particularly clear in the case of Scotland, the subject of Kincaid Jolly's chapter. A wider spectrum of examples would be more interesting but some generalisations can be made in the case of ethnoregionalism that confirm a diverse picture. The next chapter by Meguid explores the relationship between decentralisation and European integration with regard to the rise of ethnoregionalism, showing that both trends provided opportunity structures and that regionalism and integration reinforce one another. The following chapter by Gomez-Reimo casts more doubt on the salience of European integration for ethnoregionalism, seeing it as highly conditional.

The third section concerns religious challenges to European integration. A study of the Scottish national party by Miller and Hosain shows that in fact Scottish nationalism while being Anglophobic is not significantly Islamophobic. An interesting conclusion in the next chapter by Cinnirella and Hamilton is that Asian Britons view Europe differently and more positively from their white British counterparts. Most Asians self-identify as Asian, British and European. In a chapter on Muslim elites in Ireland, Portugal and Spain, Gould finds that many Muslim elites are likely to cite European as much as non-European cultural references. These chapters show interesting and new patterns of European identification emerging among European Muslims complicating the picture of European identity as one that is necessarily anti-migrant.

The final two chapters that constitute part 4 by Givens and Lindstrom deal with the challenges of new nationalisms. Givens shows that the rise of right-wing anti-migrant parties in Europe, especially in France and Austria, paradoxically led to anti-discrimination policies by pro-European actors and the general development of a European wide stance on discrimination. This reveals the complex relationship between critiques of Europe and the reactive process of Europeanisation developing in unexpected directions precisely because of such challenges. However, there is now much to suggest that Europeanization in fact is having the opposite effect of providing right-wing parties with new opportunities. Lindstrom shows in a case study of Estonian and Slovenia that despite their different post-socialist trajectories there is a discernable rise in Euroskepticism and a perception of European integration as detrimental to national interests. It would appear that nationalism is ultimately the obstacle rather than the ethnoregional challenge and it does not appear to be the case that religious challenges are significant problems. The editors are undoubtedly justified in their conclusion that there are formidable obstacles to European integration producing a stronger European identity. The essays collected in this volume offer mixed evidence, though one cannot dispute the general conclusion that the goal of a European identity and, with it, the goal

of ever-closer union remains very much unfilled. The perspectives offered in the volume are limited by the very specific cases studies on which they are based, but provide interesting though hardly far-reaching empirical evidence the significance of which can be variously interpreted.

Gerard Delanty
Sussex University, UK

HEATHORN, Stephen – *Haig and Kitchener in Twentieth-Century Britain: Remembrance, Representation and Appropriation*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013. Pp. 268.

To grow up in Canada in the 1960s was to grow up surrounded by reminders of British military history. While my village had neither a Haig nor a Kitchener Street (the city of Kitchener was an easy drive away), it did have Raglan, Nelson, and Elgin; I lived on Wellington Street. Later, my son attended Earl Kitchener School in Hamilton; my children went on to Lord Roberts School in London but had we stayed in Hamilton, they would have gone to Allenby School. More recently, I noticed a sign on Highway 403 in south-western Ontario that would make any military historian do a double-take: Earl Haig Fun Park. Locals know that the park is named after a high school, but how many know who the high school commemorates? Probably not one in a hundred could tell you. That trajectory, from meaning to meaninglessness, is the subject of Stephen Heathorn's fascinating book on two of the greatest figures in modern British military history.

The story starts in death—Kitchener's in the sinking of HMS *Hampshire* in 1916 and Haig's of a heart attack in 1928. Beginning with a discussion of state funerals and official mourning, Heathorn elucidates how the remembrance of each man was appropriated for different purposes by different groups, and how that appropriation yielded varying representations. In doing so, he ranges from the usual (traditional monuments erected as tributes by a grateful nation) to the bizarre (the conspiracy theories that followed Kitchener's loss). In Heathorn's view, each man became a *lieu de memoire*, a "reference point of remembrance that conveys meaning for many people regardless of what actual knowledge about the subject they may have" (p. 147). Kitchener's contribution to the First World War was pushed to the background as the attention of a post-colonial world focused on his deeds, or misdeeds, as an imperial soldier. This process comes out especially clearly in a splendid analysis of the removal in 1959 of Kitchener's statute from Khartoum, where it had become an embarrassment to the government. Haig, despite his tireless work on behalf of veterans in the 1920s, became a kind of short-hand for all that was wrong with the First World War. Historians have gone to battle over the field marshal's reputation, but he has become even more of a lightning rod for people who know little about history. They know that Haig is bad, even if they know nothing about him or his war.